

## The Palaeologina Group: Additional Manuscripts and New Questions

ROBERT S. NELSON AND JOHN LOWDEN

In 1978 Hugo Buchthal and Hans Belting published a major study of Palaeologan manuscript illumination, *Patronage in Thirteenth-Century Constantinople: An Atelier of Late Byzantine Book Illumination and Calligraphy*.<sup>1</sup> They gathered together fifteen judiciously written and finely painted deluxe Greek manuscripts that have come to be referred to as the Group or the Atelier of the Palaeologina after the monogram of a female member of the imperial family that appears in a Gospel book in the Vatican, gr. 1158.<sup>2</sup> They divided the manuscripts into two subgroups, one consisting of eleven copies of the Gospels, New Testament, and Lectionary and the other of four Psalters and a Praxapostolos.<sup>3</sup> The subgroups were found to have a differing ornament and script but a common style of figural illumination. While, strictly speaking, no manuscript is securely documented, one Gospel book (Florence, Bibl. Laur. Plut. VI.28) contains the date of 1285, written over an erasure,<sup>4</sup> and the authors convincingly assigned the miniatures of the entire group to Constantinople just before 1300. They proposed that a team of scribes, illuminators, and miniaturists came together to produce the manuscripts over no more than a few years at the instigation of a single bibliophile, the Palaeologina of the Vatican Gospels. This person, they argued, was probably Theodora Raoulaina,

an aristocratic intellectual, who (re)founded the Constantinopolitan monastery of St. Andrew in Krisei. In their opinion, most of the manuscripts were produced for Theodora and her monastery.<sup>5</sup>

Because the authors defined the characteristics of these fifteen books with such precision, others have been able to attribute additional manuscripts to the "Atelier of the Palaeologina." Already in 1977, I. Hutter had suggestively set a copy of the Homilies of St. Basil at Oxford (Bodl. Lib. Laud. gr. 90) next to the Gospel book in the same library (Barocci 31), published by Buchthal and Belting a year later.<sup>6</sup> In 1982 Hutter expressly attributed the Laudian manuscript to the Palaeologina group.<sup>7</sup> In the following year, K. Maxwell published a deluxe lectionary in the Vatican, gr. 352, as a further member of the group, and examined textual details of this and the three lectionaries previously identified.<sup>8</sup> Next, A. Marava-Chatzinicolaou and C. Toufexi-Paschou were able to add two more lectionaries in the National Library of Greece, cod. 2546 and cod. 2646.<sup>9</sup> Concurrently, B. L. Fonkič reviewed the manuscripts of the "scriptorium of Theodora Raoulaina" for the International Congress of Byzantine Studies in 1981, a report first published in Russian and later in Italian.<sup>10</sup> Here he noted further manuscripts belonging to the group

<sup>1</sup>Dumbarton Oaks Studies 16 (Washington, D.C., 1978). What follows is a summary of their findings throughout the book, but especially on pp. 1–7 and 91–104. Between 1970 and 1975 the authors published much of their material separately in independent studies listed on p. xiii.

<sup>2</sup>Buchthal-Belting, pls. 19a, b.

<sup>3</sup>The manuscripts are listed in Buchthal-Belting on pp. 4–5, where each manuscript is given a symbol derived from its present location. To avoid possible confusion, new attributions have not been given sigla.

<sup>4</sup>Ibid., 7, 57, pl. 4c.

<sup>5</sup>Ibid., 99–102. Florence, Laur. Plut. VI.28 and Venice, Bibl. Marc. gr. 541 are excluded.

<sup>6</sup>I. Hutter, *Corpus der byzantinischen Miniaturenhandschriften*, vol. 1, *Oxford Bodleian Library I* (Stuttgart, 1977) (= *CBM*), 96–100.

<sup>7</sup>Hutter, *CBM*, vol. 3.1, 344–45.

<sup>8</sup>"Another Lectionary of the 'Atelier' of the Palaeologina, Vat. gr. 352," *DOP* 37 (1983), 47–54.

<sup>9</sup>*Catalogue of the Illuminated Byzantine Manuscripts of the National Library of Greece*, II (Athens, 1985) (= *NLG*), 70–80.

<sup>10</sup>"Vizantijskie skriptorii," *JÖB* 31.2 (1981), 443–44; "Scriptoria bizantini: Risultati e prospettive della ricerca," *RSBN*, n.s. 17–19 (1980–82), 114.

in Soviet collections, including a Gospel book of 1272.<sup>11</sup> Unfortunately, the information he provided is sparse and includes no illustrations.

Given the inevitable delays to which publications are subject and the diverse origins of those working on this material, it is not surprising that the above scholars were unable to take account of one another's attributions. Thus before we suggest further additions, it would be wise to pause and review the "Atelier's" expanded output. The attribution of further manuscripts to the group will doubtless continue; thus our remarks are provisional and represent work in progress, not least because the manuscripts in the Soviet Union have thus far proven inaccessible to us. Nevertheless, we believe that the four previous attributions from Oxford, Athens, and the Vatican, when added to the fifteen first published by Buchthal and Belting and to the four other manuscripts that we propose to attribute to scribes of the "Atelier," provide the basis for a reconsideration of the group as a whole. Indeed the new data calls into question the production, date, patronage, localization, and very nature of the "Atelier of the Palaeologina."

At the outset, it is useful to specify those characteristics that qualify a manuscript for inclusion in this select company. Buchthal and Belting focused primarily on manuscripts with figural miniatures and assembled their group on that basis, but they were also sensitive to the script, ornament, and codicology of the books, even if they did not pursue all such matters to the same degree. Perhaps as a consequence, subsequent additions to the group (ours included) contain ornamental but not figural decoration. Reversing the authors' emphases but not their order of chapters, we will begin with codicology and palaeography, aspects that are essential to the foundations on which the group is built. We will work with the original core group of fifteen manuscripts and the four prior attributions, as well as four others assigned to the "same team of scribes" by Buchthal and Belting.<sup>12</sup>

The most consistent codicological feature of the group is the placement of quire signatures, and here two systems dominate. In seven manuscripts

by the "Atelier,"<sup>13</sup> and two others by associated scribes,<sup>14</sup> a quire is denoted by a number placed in the lower righthand corner of the first page of the gathering. In four manuscripts,<sup>15</sup> a number appears in the lower inner corner of the last page, and a single cross is placed in the center of the upper margin of the first page. For the other manuscripts, the situation varies. One manuscript lacks signatures;<sup>16</sup> the evidence in four other cases is unclear;<sup>17</sup> and three manuscripts employ different systems.<sup>18</sup> Although this data might appear confused and disorderly, a pattern is discernible. The first two systems correlate precisely with the evidence of script and decoration and correspond to the division between the authors' first and second subgroups. In sum, quire signatures of either system may indicate affiliation with the Palaeologina group.

In contrast, ruling patterns are less useful for all but a few manuscripts. Byzantine scribes incised parchment manuscripts in thousands of different patterns in order to provide an appropriate format for the written text. Many of these designs have been classified, first by the Lakes (the system used by Buchthal and Belting), and more recently and more precisely by Leroy.<sup>19</sup> Converting the authors' information into Leroy's system and adding data on the new attributions and the manuscripts with related scripts yields a series of arcane letters and numbers and the immediate conclusion that no standardized ruling pattern was employed throughout the group. Yet, as with the quire signatures, further consideration reveals certain con-

<sup>13</sup>Mt. Athos, Lavra A 2; Baltimore, Walters Art Gallery, W 525; Florence, Bibl. Laur. Plut. VI.28; Venice, Bibl. Marc. gr. 541; Athens, Nat. Lib. cod. 2546; Athens, Nat. Lib. cod. 2646; Oxford, Bodl. Lib. Laud. gr. 90.

<sup>14</sup>Rome, Vat. gr. 1523 and Vienna, Nationalbibl. theol. gr. 90 have signatures in the lower outer corner of the first page. Cambridge, Mass., Harvard College Lib. gr. 1 lacks signatures. Rome, Vat. gr. 356 has signatures in the upper outer corner of the first page and, according to our notes, in the lower inner margin of the last page. Buchthal-Belting (p. 94) record something slightly different for the latter.

<sup>15</sup>Paris, Bibl. Nat. suppl. gr. 260; Paris, Bibl. Nat. gr. 21; Mt. Athos, Stavronikita 46; Rome, Vat. gr. 1208.

<sup>16</sup>Mt. Athos, Iviron 30 m.

<sup>17</sup>No information is reported for Mt. Athos, Dionysiou 5; Mt. Athos, Stavronikita 27; Mt. Sinai, gr. 228; and the now lost manuscript.

<sup>18</sup>Oxford, Bodl. Lib. Barocci 31, center of lower margin of first page (Hutter, *CBM*, vol. 1, 97); Rome, Vat. gr. 1158, outer corner of last page (Buchthal-Belting, 116); Rome, Vat. gr. 352, lower inner corner of first page (Maxwell, "Another Lectionary," 48), as seen in Maxwell, fig. 1.

<sup>19</sup>J. Leroy, *Les types de régleure des manuscrits grecs* (Paris, 1976), i-ii and passim.

<sup>11</sup>The latter manuscript (Moscow, Historical Museum, Mus. 3647) is further mentioned in B. L. Fonkič, "Grečeskie rukopisi V. P. Orlova-Davydova," *VizVrem* 44 (1983), 123-24. It is not included in K. Treu, *Die griechischen Handschriften des Neuen Testaments in der UdSSR* (Berlin, 1966).

<sup>12</sup>Rome, Vat. Lib. gr. 356; Rome, Vat. Lib. gr. 1523; Cambridge, Mass., Harvard College Lib., gr. 1; Vienna, Nationalbibl. theol. gr. 90. See Buchthal-Belting, 94-95.

sistencies among the manuscripts. Five ruling types are found in more than one manuscript. One, Leroy 20D1, appears in manuscripts of different subgroups: Mt. Athos, Dionysiou 5, and Paris, Bibl. Nat. suppl. gr. 260; but the other four patterns divide along more predictable lines. For example, Leroy 20D2 is found in two lectionaries (Mt. Sinai gr. 228 and Iviron 30 m) and the Palaeologina's Gospel book, and no. 44D1 is used for two manuscripts of the second subgroup, Mt. Athos, Stavronikita 46 and Rome, Vat. gr. 1208. Leroy P2 31C1b, a very unusual design, appears in manuscripts that the authors credit to the same scribe, Mt. Athos, Lavra A 2 and Baltimore, Walters Art Gallery W 525.<sup>20</sup> Finally, Leroy 32C2 is used for three lectionaries, the two new Athens manuscripts, cod. 2546 and 2646, and Vat. gr. 1523, a manuscript written but not decorated by the "Atelier" according to Buchthal and Belting.<sup>21</sup> In light of this evidence, we conclude that a few ruling types may indicate affiliation with the group, but only, as with the quire signatures, in conjunction with other indications.

The members of the group come in a wide variety of sizes from the smallest private "pocket-book," a Psalter in Paris, suppl. gr. 260 (118 × 85 mm), to the largest public books, a lectionary in Athens, Nat. Lib. cod. 2546 (330 × 255 mm), and the sermons of St. Basil at Oxford, Bodl. Lib. Laud. gr. 90 (335 × 260 mm). Most manuscripts can be divided into size categories, corresponding in general terms to our notions of quarto, octavo, etc., and probably indicating that page size was determined by folding and refolding parchment of set measures.<sup>22</sup> The six lectionaries of the group, in particular, form a consistent ensemble that ranges in height from 305 to 330 mm, and in width from 239 to 255 mm.<sup>23</sup> Yet although the group contains lectionaries of a generally uniform large size, their page measurements alone are scarcely a valid criterion for attribution. Deluxe Byzantine lectionaries, for example, generally tend to be

large and many are about this size, including the contemporary products of Constantinopolitan scribes: Mt. Sinai gr. 206 of 1303 (330 × 255 mm)<sup>24</sup> and the now lost Smyrna lectionary of 1298 (320 × 235 mm),<sup>25</sup> as well as numerous earlier and later manuscripts.<sup>26</sup> The size of a Byzantine lectionary was determined by function and tradition, not the practice of any particular workshop.

As Buchthal and Belting explain, the group's scribes wrote in two principal styles or canons.<sup>27</sup> The best defined is that used for the four manuscripts of their second subgroup, the Vatican Praxapostolos and the three Psalters, all written in gold ink by perhaps one or two scribes. The cohesiveness of this group is indicated both by its characteristic manner of denoting quires, as we have seen, and by its style of ornament.<sup>28</sup> The scripts of the larger first subgroup, consisting of the manuscripts of the New Testament, the lectionaries, and the homilies of St. Basil, are less uniform. As the authors indicated,<sup>29</sup> the Gospel books at the Lavra and the Walters Art Gallery were probably copied by a single scribe. But their writing differs from what prevails in the large ceremonial manuscripts, especially the lectionaries, which are written in a fine calligraphic example of the archaizing minuscule, a script well studied by H. Hunger and G. Prato.<sup>30</sup> Specific letter combinations can be followed across several manuscripts, indicating a certain homogeneity. Unfortunately there can be no certainty about the number of scribes involved, because all but one of the group's manuscripts lack colophons,<sup>31</sup> in contrast to the well-documented

<sup>24</sup>R. S. Nelson, "The Manuscripts of Antonios Malakes and the Collecting and Appreciation of Illuminated Books in the Early Palaeologan Period," *JÖB* 36 (1986), 249–50.

<sup>25</sup>See below, notes 34–35.

<sup>26</sup>E.g., Mt. Athos, Protaton, cod. 11, 12th cent., 335 × 240 mm (S. M. Pelekanidis et al., *The Treasures of Mount Athos*, I [Athens, 1973], 389); Mt. Athos, Dionysiou 14, 12th cent., 330 × 250 mm (*ibid.*, 400); Mt. Athos, Koutloumousiou 62, 14th cent., 350 × 255 mm (*ibid.*, 453). Measurements provided in K. Aland, *Kurzgefasste Liste der griechischen Handschriften des Neuen Testaments* (Berlin, 1963), 205–318, suggest that over 70 percent of all lectionaries (mostly undecorated) have a page height greater than 25 cm and about 15 percent are taller than 33 cm.

<sup>27</sup>Buchthal-Belting, 9–15.

<sup>28</sup>*Ibid.*, 75–80.

<sup>29</sup>*Ibid.*, 11.

<sup>30</sup>H. Hunger and O. Kresten, "Archaisierende Minuskel und Hodegonstil im 14. Jahrhundert," *JÖB* 29 (1980), 192–99; G. Prato, "Scrittura libraria arcaizzanti della prima età dei Paleologi e loro modelli," *Scrittura e civiltà* 3 (1979), 151–93.

<sup>31</sup>Only Florence, Bibl. Laur. Plut. VI.28 has a colophon, but this prayer for an Anna does not mention the name of a scribe. Neither the script nor the ornament of the manuscript are those of the group; Buchthal-Belting, 111.

<sup>20</sup>Buchthal-Belting, 11. Leroy based his work upon an examination of 3,000 Greek manuscripts prior to the 13th century and provided a frequency count for each design (see his appendix 2). The type used in the Lavra and Walters manuscripts is not attested by Leroy, indicating a certain rarity.

<sup>21</sup>Buchthal-Belting, 95.

<sup>22</sup>Discussed in R. Nelson, *Theodore Hagiopetrites: A Late Byzantine Scribe and Illuminator* (Vienna, 1991), 64–67.

<sup>23</sup>Mt. Sinai, gr. 228, 315 × 250 mm; Mt. Athos, Iviron 30 m, 305 × 245 mm; Mt. Athos, Stavronikita 27, 318 × 242 mm; Athens, Nat. Lib. cod. 2546, 330 × 255 mm; Athens, Nat. Lib. cod. 2646, 315 × 245 mm; Rome, Vat. gr. 352, 321 × 239 mm.

oeuvres of the contemporary scribe Theodore Hagiopetrites,<sup>32</sup> or of the later copyists from the Constantinopolitan monastery of the Hodegon.<sup>33</sup>

Thus far no named artist or scribe has been associated with the group. But we should like to propose a possible candidate for this distinction: the monk David, who wrote the lost Smyrna lectionary for the metropolitan of Philippoupolis, Gerasimos, in 1298.<sup>34</sup> Both the general impression and individual words on its first page (Fig. 2) are very close to the beginning of the Vatican lectionary, gr. 1523 (Fig. 1), attributed by Buchthal and Belting to a scribe of the group.<sup>35</sup> This correspondence between the two lectionaries, however, does not extend to their decoration. The ornament and evangelist portraits of the Smyrna lectionary bear no resemblance to the work of the group. Thus explicit documentation of scribe and patron seem to occur only at the margins of the group.

Without doubt, the most readily identifiable features of the group are their figural miniatures, initials, and decorative headpieces or headbands, to which we now turn. All subsequent attributions are a consequence of the clarity with which Buchthal and Belting defined and illustrated the characteristic features of this decoration. But the situation is not straightforward, for a divergence between decoration and script is a recurrent theme of the Buchthal-Belting monograph and is found to be a general consequence of the working methods of the scribes, illuminators, and miniaturists, who collaborated to produce the manuscripts. Such practices are common, if not the norm, in Byzantium, as has been observed for this and other periods.<sup>36</sup>

Most of the decoration in the four attributed manuscripts from Athens, Oxford, and Rome conforms readily to patterns described by Buchthal and Belting, as has been emphasized in previous publications. All manuscripts, for example, belong to the ornamental tradition represented by the au-

thors' first subgroup, that of the New Testaments and Lectionaries. Only the second lectionary in Athens, cod. 2646, presents problems, because its headpieces and initials are more distant from those of the other lectionaries. Yet the latter's script and codicology tie it securely to the group. The writing is identical to that of Athens 2546,<sup>37</sup> which, in turn, is very close to that of the Palaeologina's Gospel book and to the Sinai lectionary, gr. 228.<sup>38</sup> Both Athens lectionaries share the same ruling pattern, Leroy 32C2; employ the quire signatures of the "Atelier's" first subgroup; and are approximately the same size.<sup>39</sup> Setting the two manuscripts side by side reveals that even the ink color is the same, as if their scribe wrote both books at about the same time. These technical correspondences suggest that the two books might have been made as a set and intended for the same patron, because even though both are lectionaries, cod. 2546 contains readings for the entire church year, whereas cod. 2646 has only the lessons for Saturdays and Sundays. Similar pairs of related lectionaries are encountered in earlier periods.<sup>40</sup>

In view of these connections, it is disconcerting at first to see such disparate initials and headpieces in cod. 2646. Although the initial epsilons and taus are constructed of thick bands like the letters of cod. 2546, they lack the latter's verve and finesse, a difference observed even more clearly in the headpieces.<sup>41</sup> In consequence, the derivative work in this book should be credited to a different illuminator. It should be noted that the authors of the Athens catalogue were able to find convincing parallels in the ornament of the Vatican lectionary, gr. 1523,<sup>42</sup> whose decoration Buchthal and Belting considered related to, but not actually a part of, the group.<sup>43</sup> Since Athens 2546, 2646, and Vat. gr. 1523 all share the same ruling pattern, one again finds a complex association of similar and dissimilar elements. All three manuscripts were copied by

<sup>32</sup>Nelson, *Hagiopetrites*, 20–26.

<sup>33</sup>L. Politis, "Eine Schreiberschule im Kloster τῶν Ὁδηγῶν," *BZ* 51 (1958), 17–36, 261–87.

<sup>34</sup>S. Papadaki-Oekland, *Οἱ μικρογραφίες ἐνδὸς χαμένου χειρογράφου τοῦ 1298*, Δελτ. Χρυσ. Ἀρχ. Ἐτ., ser. 4, 8 (1975–76), 32–34. According to the book's colophon, David wrote and decorated the manuscript.

<sup>35</sup>For the Smyrna ms., see I. Spatharakis, *Corpus of Dated Illuminated Greek Manuscripts to the Year 1453* (Leiden, 1981), fig. 384 and for the Vatican ms., Buchthal-Belting, pl. 65. Cf. the words ζωή in the first columns and ἡλθεν in the second columns of these manuscripts.

<sup>36</sup>See R. S. Nelson, "Theoktistos and Associates in Twelfth-Century Constantinople: An Illustrated New Testament of A.D. 1133," *J. Paul Getty Museum Journal* 15 (1987), 58–59.

<sup>37</sup>Cf. *NLG*, II, figs. 125 and 143, 126 and 144, 128 and 146, 130 and 152.

<sup>38</sup>Cf. *NLG*, II, fig. 121 with Buchthal-Belting, figs. 17b and 32a.

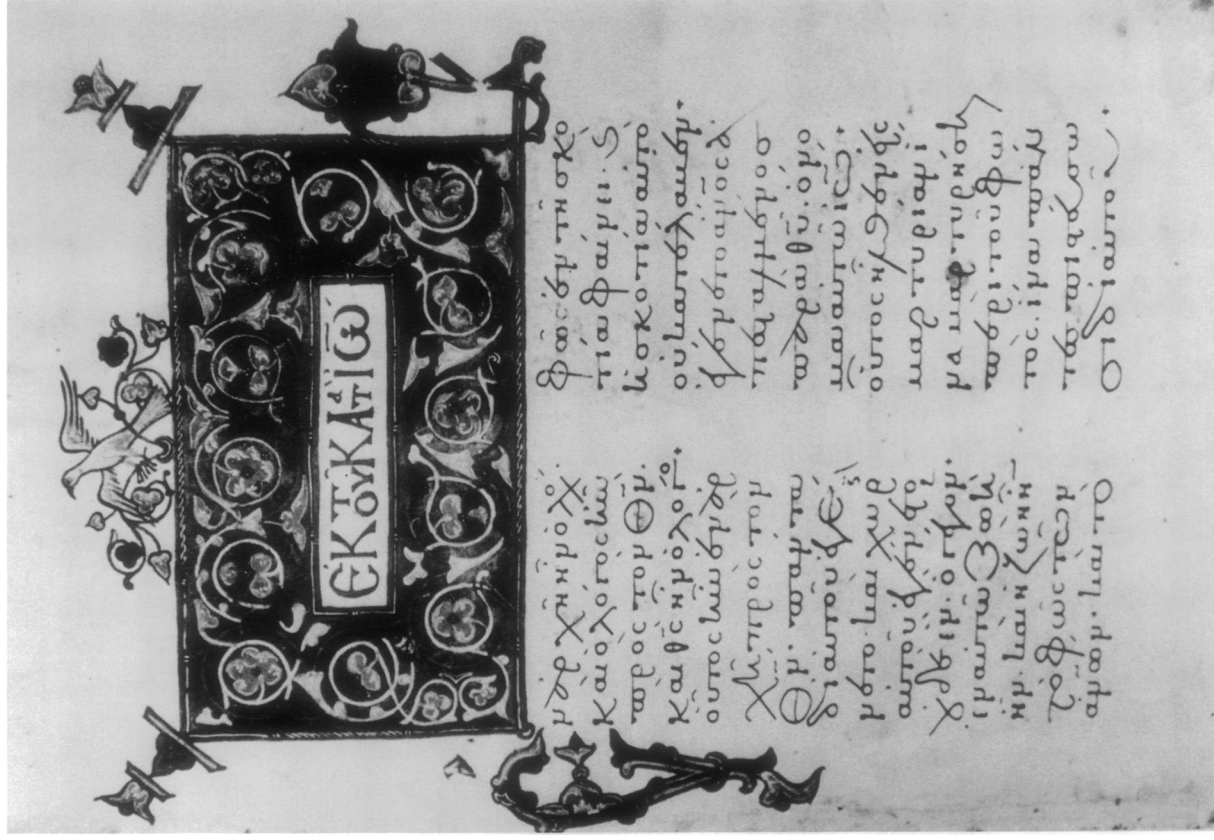
<sup>39</sup>Athens 2546: 330 × 255 mm; Athens 2646: 315 × 245 mm.

<sup>40</sup>In a lecture given at the 17th International Congress of Byzantine Studies in 1986, Mary-Lyon Dolezal proposed that two 11th-century lectionaries, Rome, Vat. gr. 1156 and Venice, Istituto Ellenico, ms. 2, constituted a similar pair. The former manuscript is the subject of her forthcoming University of Chicago dissertation.

<sup>41</sup>Cf. *NLG*, II, figs. 140–43.

<sup>42</sup>*Ibid.*, II, 80.

<sup>43</sup>Buchthal-Belting, 95.



2 Smyrna, lectionary, lost (after Spatharakis, *Corpus*)



3 Athens, Nat. Lib. cod. 2646, fol. 50 (photo: same)

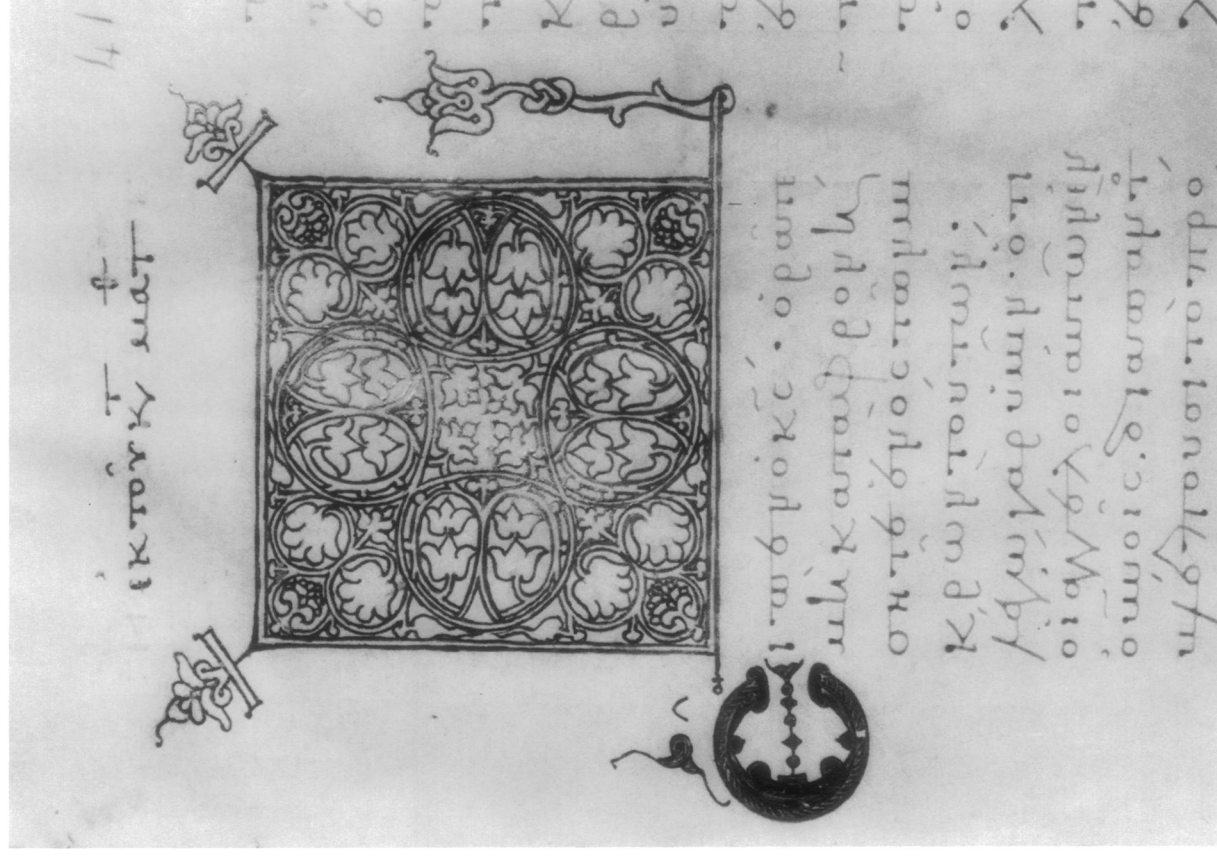


4 London, Brit. Lib. Add. 29713, fol. 83 (photo: same)



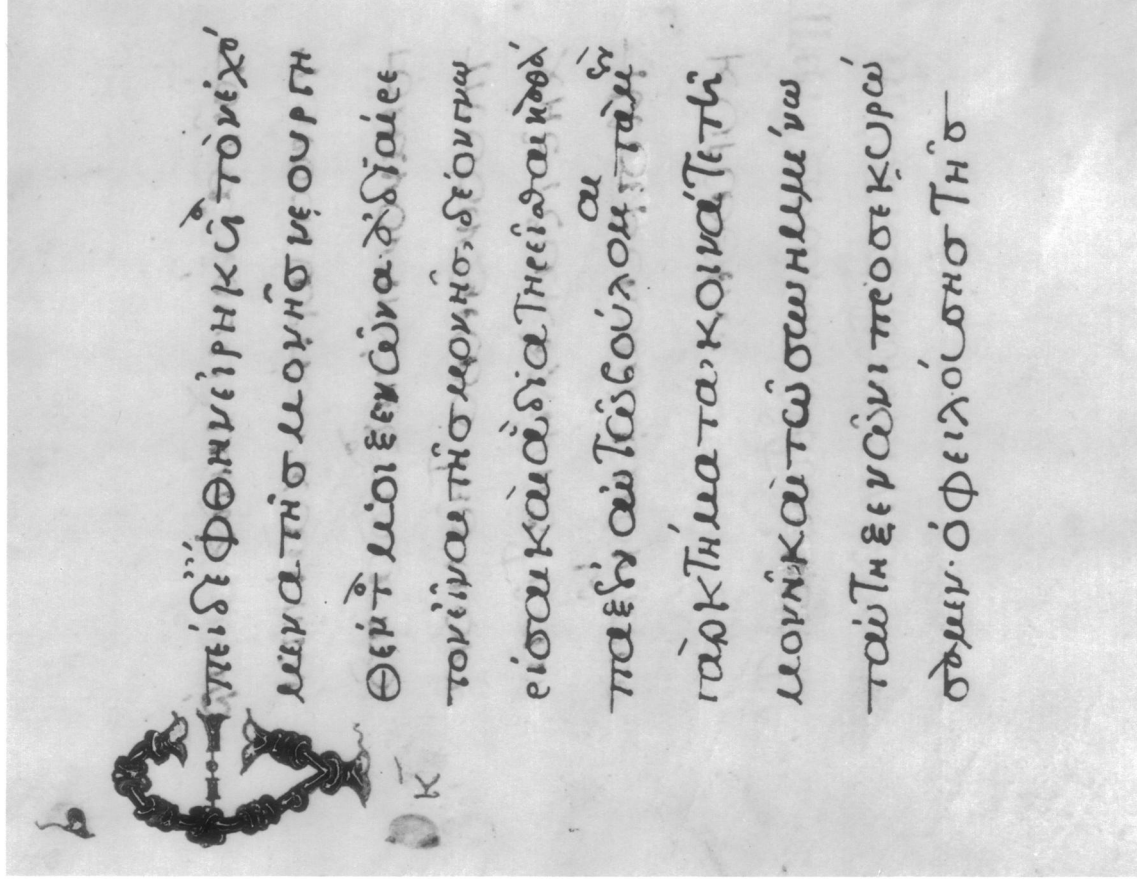


6 London, Brit. Lib. Add. 29713, fol. 9 (photo: same)



7 Mount Sinai, gr. 228, fol. 41 (reproduced through the courtesy of the Michigan-Princeton-Alexandria Expedition to Mount Sinai)





9 London, Brit. Lib. Add. 22748, fol. 40v (photo: same)



10 Mount Sinai, gr. 228, fol. 1 (reproduced through the courtesy of the Michigan-Princeton-Alexandria Expedition to Mount Sinai)

Εὐχὴ καὶ πρὸς ταύτην πρὸς αὐτὴν  
Τὴν ἐκ τῆς συμβουλῆς τῶν μοναχῶν·  
**Α**λλήμεϊσιν ἡμεῖς περὶ κα  
τὰ θῆρα ἀδελφῶν ἐκ τῆς  
καὶ τὴν ταύτην ἀπό μὲν ὧν  
παρὰ αὐτοῦ δαψιλῶς εἰσὶν  
καμινθῆνα θεία καμινθῶ  
θῶ καὶ τῇ κοινῇ διαποινῇ  
ἐπὶ οὐκ ἔστιν ὅτι ἐκ τῆς



ΛΟΥΙΑΣ:



ἡμεῖτε τὸ ὄμομα κν̄,  
αἱ μεῖτε δούμοι κμ̄.  
ὁ ἱε̄ρω̄ τῶ δμ̄οῖ ῡω̄ κν̄ δμ̄ αὐ  
λαῖς οἰκουθῶ ἡμεῶν.

ρλθ

Δὲ ἡμεῖτε τὸν κμ̄ ὅπαν̄ θεο̄ς κς̄.  
Ψάματε τὸ ὄμομα πᾶν τὸν ὅτι  
καθ̄ον.  
Ὅτι τὸ ρ̄ια κ̄ ὡ̄ι, δζε̄ δζα το̄ ε̄αν  
τῶ ὁ κς̄.  
Ἰ̄ ἡλ̄εις̄ περιουσιασμο̄ν δζα τῶ.

70  
διαδεξιμὴν ἡ ἐξ ἐνὸς πατρὸς  
θεοῦ σείσθαι καὶ τῆς αὐτοῦ  
δουλοῦσθαι μὴ ἀπαζιγῶσαι  
βασιλείας τῆς ἡτοιμασ<sup>μῆς</sup>  
ἐκείνης περὶ τῆς τοῦ κόσμου  
καταβολῆς ἢ πολυαύσεως

Ἰϛ Ἰϛ Ἰϛ Ἰϛ Ἰϛ Ἰϛ Ἰϛ Ἰϛ Ἰϛ Ἰϛ

Ἐπεὶ τοῦ πόσας διῆραν αὐτὰς μοναχ<sup>ας</sup>

πείθει τὰ κατὰ γνώμην

Γ

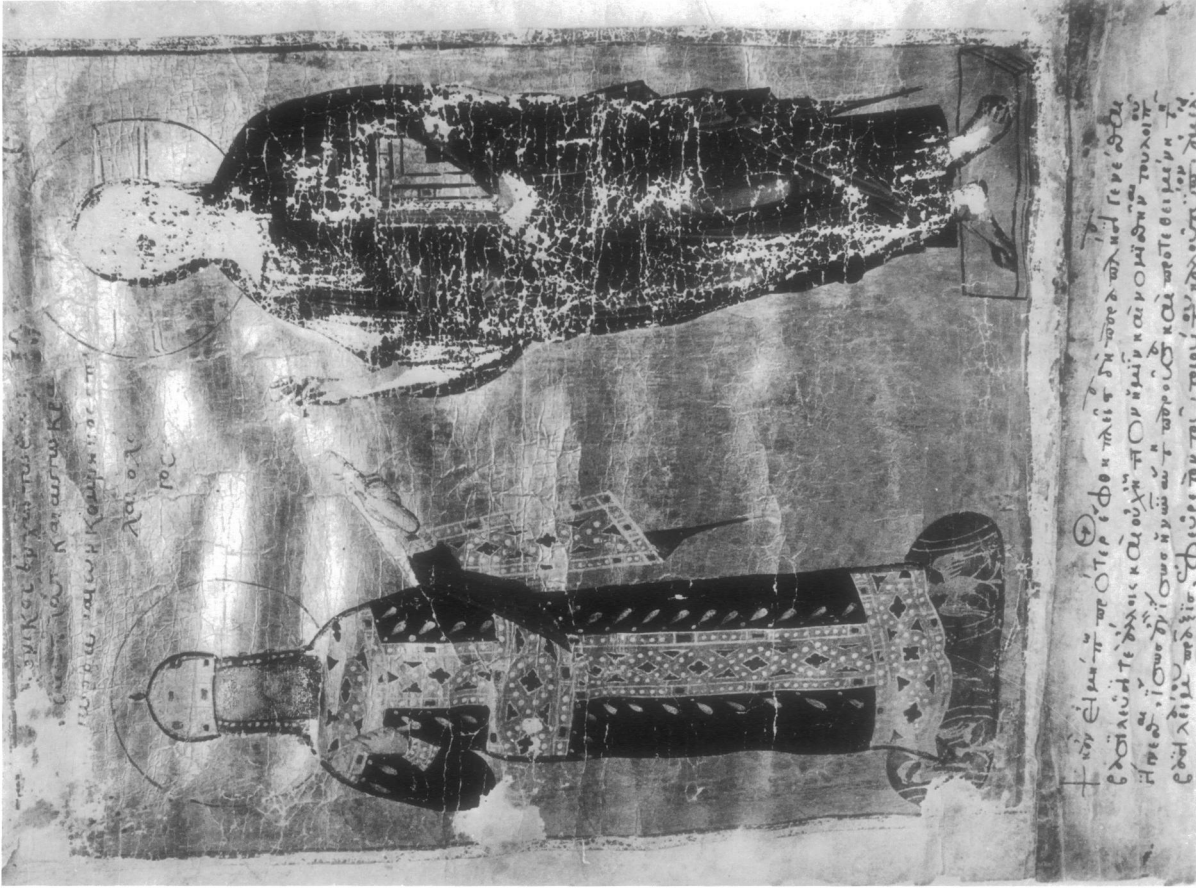
οὐδ' ἴσασθ' ὁ ποιεῖν  
οὐδ' ὅτι· δαῖμα κ' ἔτι  
μή μὴ ὀνύμοι· ἐφ' ἣ  
ὄξω ὡς τὸ κλῆμα κ'  
ὄξη ἄν' ἔθνη· καὶ ἰσώ  
γούσιν αὐτὰ καὶ ὄξ  
- τὸ πῦρ αἴματος καὶ  
καίεται· δαῖμα κ' ἔτι  
ὀνύμοι καὶ τὰ ῥήμα  
- τὰ μου ὀνύμην μὴ κ'  
ὁ ἴσ' ἔθλη τὰ αἰτί  
σι σθ'· καὶ γούσθαι  
ὑμῖν· -



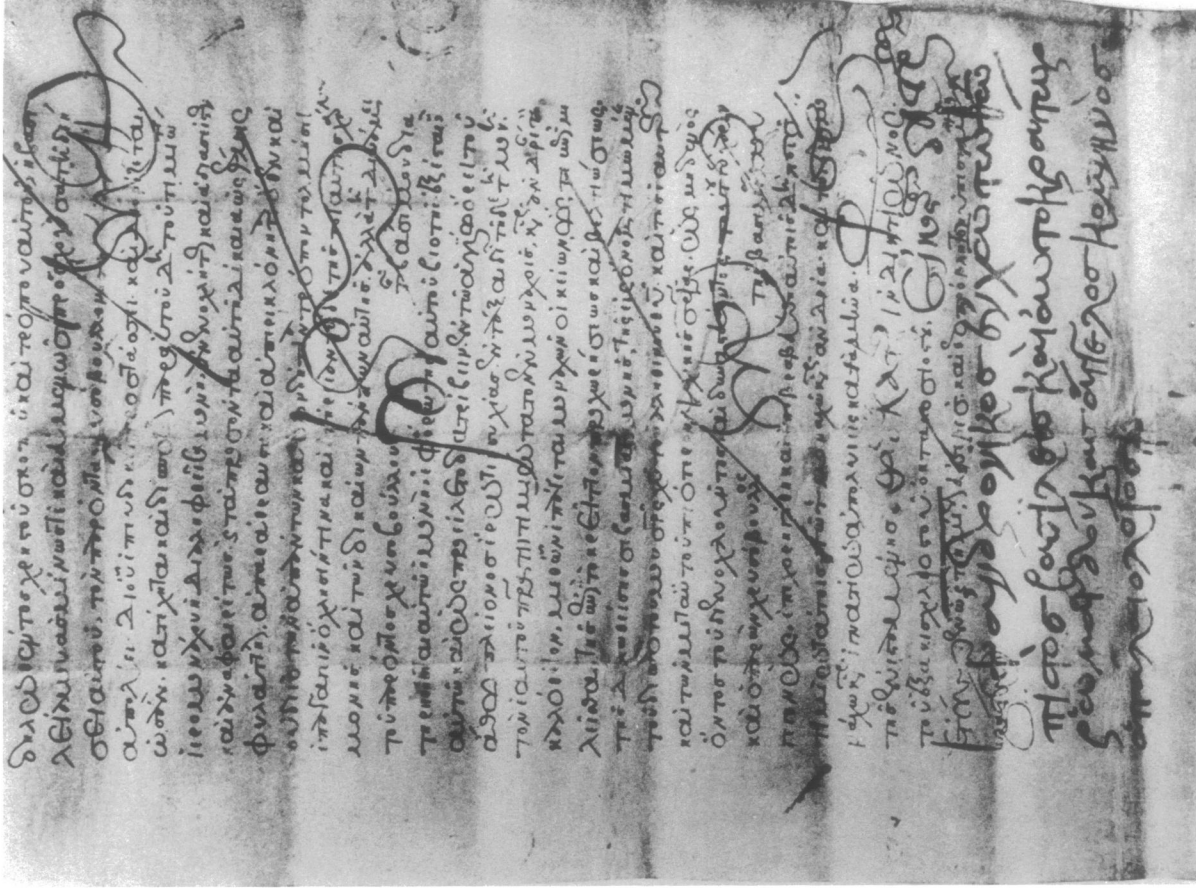
ράββα τον πρῶτον  
 τῶν κτηνῶν καὶ  
 τῶν ἁγίων μεγαλοῦ  
 Θεοῦ Δύρου:

ἐκ κ' ἡδύκον:-  
 ὡς αἰρῶ δ' ἐκ γ' αἰ.  
 Εἰσπορεύετο δ' ὁ





15 Athens, Byzantine Museum, chrysobull of Andronikos II (photo: same)



16 Mount Athos, Lavra monastery, chrysobull of Andronikos II  
(after Lemerle, *Archives de l'Athos*, VIII)

scribes represented in the “Atelier,” but whereas Athens 2546 was illuminated in the tradition of the group, Athens 2646 and Vat. gr. 1523 were decorated by someone working more independently.

Further information about this particular subgroup of manuscripts is provided by our first attribution, yet another lectionary: London, Brit. Lib. Add. 29713, which contains only headpieces and initials.<sup>44</sup> Here the ornament bears close comparison to that of Athens 2646 and Vat. gr. 1523. Like the former, the loosely painted rinceaux wind haphazardly about the headpiece, and a simple plant with drooping leaves stands to one side (Figs. 3, 4). Moreover, the initial tau in the London lectionary (Fig. 4) is generally formed according to the practices of the group, but its reductive simplicity best resembles the corresponding letter in Athens 2646 (Fig. 5). The large epsilon on fol. 9 (Fig. 6) of the London volume has much the same character as the initial epsilon of the Vatican lectionary (Fig. 1), affirming the close relations among these manuscripts. It is thus reassuring to find that the ruling pattern used in the London lectionary is Leroy 32C2, and that other codicological details conform to the group’s practices.<sup>45</sup> Finally, the headpiece on fol. 9 contains the well-known quatrefoil design of the Vatican Praxapostolos and other manuscripts in the group, such as the Sinai lectionary, where it appears before the same lection (Fig. 7). The scripts of the London and Sinai manuscripts share similar cadences and letter forms.<sup>46</sup> We propose, therefore, that Add. 29713 should be added to the group.

The library of the Ecumenical Patriarchate in Istanbul contains a large Palaeologan lectionary (Patr. cod. 1) that also appears to us to belong to this company. Regrettably, permission to examine the manuscript was not granted, and we have had to base our analysis upon the very meager information provided by Soteriou’s catalogue of the collection and its murky illustrations,<sup>47</sup> and by a brief

description accompanied by a chromolithographic plate in a nineteenth-century publication (Fig. 8).<sup>48</sup> Referred to as the St. Sophia lectionary, the manuscript is the only known survivor of that church’s liturgical books, and for that reason alone ought to warrant further study. An inscription on fol. 417 records that it was presented to the Great Church on Sunday, July 6, 1438, by the hieromonk Arsenios of Crete, a known friend of Patriarch Joseph II.<sup>49</sup> Unfortunately for our purposes, its previous history is unrecorded. A large book of 416 folios, measuring 340 × 260 mm, and equivalent in size to Vat. gr. 1523 (335 × 260 mm), Patr. cod. 1 is written in two columns, within a text block about 235 × 180 mm, each column being about 78 mm wide. In general, the headpiece (Fig. 8) is characteristic of the group, and both the inner quatrefoil and the border pattern find close parallels in manuscripts like the now missing Gospel book.<sup>50</sup> But in the lectionary, the flowers in the corners of the quatrefoil are not outlined in white.<sup>51</sup> The small plant, growing at the right of the headpiece, has a curving gold stem and narrow leaves that can be compared to a similarly placed plant in Paris, gr. 21.<sup>52</sup> There and in other cases, the serpentine plant rests on a ground line marked by a series of circles and lines, tiny details that bespeak a personal mannerism.<sup>53</sup> The massive epsilon, supported by a broad foot, and the prominent breathing mark above recall the initial at the beginning of the Sinai lectionary, gr. 228 (Fig. 10). As expected, the elegant calligraphy of the Istanbul lectionary is quite close to that of the Sinai manuscript, both in overall effect and in specific letters and ligatures.<sup>54</sup> Thus even without further knowl-

<sup>44</sup> *Catalogue of Additions to the Manuscripts in the British Museum in the Years MDCCCLIV–MDCCCLXXV*, II (London, 1877), 694; H. Omont, “Notes sur les manuscrits grecs du British Museum,” *BEC* 45 (1884), 333; S. P. Lambros, *Σύμμικτα*, Νέος Ἑλλ. 1 (1904), 370; M. Richard, *Inventaire des manuscrits grecs du British Museum* (Paris, 1952), 52.

<sup>45</sup> E.g., quires are ruled according to the system of the first subgroup, and the size of the London manuscript (325 × 255 mm) corresponds to the “Atelier’s” norm for this text.

<sup>46</sup> Cf. London, Add. 29713, fol. 9 (Fig. 6) with fol. 1 of Sinai gr. 228 (Buchthal-Belting, pl. 32a).

<sup>47</sup> G. A. Soteriou, *Κειμήλια τοῦ Οἰκουμενικοῦ Πατριαρχείου* (Athens, 1937), 64–68, figs. 19–21; dated to the 11th century (p. 67).

<sup>48</sup> E. Ioannides, *Βιβλιογραφία*, Ἑλλ. Φιλολ. Σύλλ. 2 (1864), 60–62, and folding plate after p. 64; dated to the 12th century. Unfortunately the plate reproduces the same page as Soteriou’s fig. 20. At that time, the manuscript was in the church of St. George near the Edirne Kapı (p. 60).

<sup>49</sup> Soteriou, 67. On this Arsenios, see M. Manoussakas, *Μέτρα τῆς Βενετίας ἐναντί τῆς ἐν Κρήτῃ ἐπιρροῆς τοῦ Πατριαρχείου Κωνσταντινουπόλεως κατ’ ἀνέκδοτα βενετικά ἐγγραφα* (1418–1419), Ἑπ. Ἑτ. Βυζ. Σπ. 30 (1961), 94–101, and note on p. 704, where the connection with the Patriarchate manuscript is made. Arsenios, of the monastery of Antony τοῦ Μαρουλά, had traveled to Constantinople in 1418 to petition Joseph II, in the company of the priest Michael Kalophrenas and the painter Nicholas Philanthropinos. For this the Venetian authorities in Crete sentenced him to four months in prison.

<sup>50</sup> Buchthal-Belting, pl. 22b. Also cf. pls. 8b, 31a, 33a, 36a–b, 37b–d; and *NLG*, II, figs. 122–24 (Athens 2546).

<sup>51</sup> Cf. Buchthal-Belting, pl. 31a (Mt. Athos, Dionysiou 5).

<sup>52</sup> *Ibid.*, pl. 58a.

<sup>53</sup> Cf. *ibid.*, pls. 36e, 46c, 47a.

<sup>54</sup> Cf. the following words in the first column of the Patriarchate volume with their counterparts in the second manuscript:

edge of the volume at the Patriarchate, we feel confident in asserting that it should henceforth be considered a member of the group.

To recapitulate, in 1978 Buchthal and Belting assigned fifteen manuscripts to the group and credited to related scribes four more manuscripts, one of which, Vat. gr. 1523, has figured prominently in the foregoing. Within seven years, four other manuscripts had been added, not including Fonkič's attributions. We have offered two manuscripts in London and Istanbul and have proposed that the Smyrna lectionary was by a scribe associated with, or the same as, the person that copied Vat. gr. 1523. As a result, the total oeuvre has grown to twenty-one plus five manuscripts by related scribes, and we will shortly propose to increase the former category to twenty-two. What is striking at this stage is the increased proportion of lectionaries in the total. Buchthal and Belting knew of three lectionaries, but of the seven additions since then (anticipating for a moment our final attribution), five are lectionaries: Vat. gr. 352; Athens 2546; Athens 2646; London, Add. 29713; and Patriarchate cod. 1. Furthermore, among the four manuscripts given to related scribes, one was a lectionary, Vat. gr. 1523, and we have proposed the Smyrna volume as another. Whereas formerly lectionaries constituted a fifth (3 of 15) of the "Atelier's" oeuvre, now they are more than a third (8 of 22), even excluding, as the authors do, books by related scribes. And these numbers will change further, for two of the manuscripts mentioned by Fonkič are also lectionaries.<sup>55</sup>

Thus the "Atelier of the Palaeologina" can be said to have specialized in the production of deluxe lectionaries to a degree not heretofore realized and to an extent not typical of other Palaeologan scribes or copying centers. Theodore Hagio-petrites and related scribes can provide a contemporary analogy. Although these scribes probably worked in Thessaloniki, they too produced decorated religious texts, but in their total oeuvre of twenty-seven manuscripts, there is only one lectionary, and it is of the Acts and Epistles, not the four Gospels.<sup>56</sup> In Constantinople, the best-known copying center during the fourteenth century is the monastery of the Hodegon, which also specialized in religious manuscripts. From the

hand of its scribe Chariton, active from 1319 to 1346, we have eleven manuscripts, only one of which is a lectionary;<sup>57</sup> and from the later and more prolific Joasaph, four lectionaries out of forty-three signed and attributed manuscripts.<sup>58</sup>

That so many decorated lectionaries by the "Atelier" should have gone unrecognized by Buchthal and Belting is not a serious criticism of their work, for their principal concern was the figural miniatures. Lectionaries, decorated solely with ornament, fall between the interests of palaeographers and art historians. The latter have concentrated on the Middle Byzantine lectionary and its program of figural decoration. The typical deluxe Palaeologan lectionary, on the other hand, contains ornament and sometimes evangelist portraits, but, like many illuminated manuscripts of the period, it had ceased to be a site for narrative cycles. If in the Middle Byzantine period monumental painting tends to favor the iconic and miniature painting the narrative, the opposite situation prevails in the Palaeologan era.

Still, the demand for deluxe lectionaries continued, even if their character changed. For example, Empress Eirene, wife of Andronikos II, donated to the Lavra monastery on Mount Athos a large lectionary, decorated with headpieces, initials, and evangelist portraits, that appears to have originated in Thessaloniki.<sup>59</sup> Nor surprisingly, however, it was the clergy, not the laity, who were the more significant patrons of lectionaries. In 1298 Gerasimos, the metropolitan of Philippoupolis (present-day Plovdiv in Bulgaria), commissioned the Smyrna lectionary, presumably from a Constantinopolitan workshop, for its artistic and palaeographical affiliations are with the illumination of that center.<sup>60</sup> It could be argued that at this date most luxury manuscripts were probably available only from Constantinople or Thessaloniki. The metropolitan could have ordered his lectionary in the capital, and we know of his stay there some years earlier, when he was one of the signatories of the Synod of Blachernai (1285).<sup>61</sup> It happens that two other participants in the synod can also be as-

<sup>57</sup> Politis, "Eine Schreiberschule," 262–65.

<sup>58</sup> Ibid., 26–33; idem, "Nouvelles données sur Joasaph, copiste du monastère des Hodèges," *Illinois Classical Studies* 7.2 (1982), 306–10.

<sup>59</sup> Pelekanidis, *Treasures*, III, 234–35, and Nelson, *Hagio-petrites*, 49–51.

<sup>60</sup> See above, notes 35–36. On Philippoupolis see V. Laurent, *Le Corpus des sceaux de l'empire byzantin*, V.1 (Paris, 1963), 518–19.

<sup>61</sup> V. Laurent, "Les signataires du second synode des Blachernes," *EO* 26 (1927), 146.

καταφρονήσητε (line 2); λέγω (line 4); βλέπουσι (line 7); ἔξ (last line).

<sup>55</sup> Fonkič, "Scriptoria bizantini," 114.

<sup>56</sup> Kosinitza, ms. 35. Long missing, the manuscript is now in the Ivan Dujčev Institute in Sofia; see Nelson, *Hagio-petrites*, 19.

sociated with surviving decorated lectionaries, Antonios Malakes, the archbishop of Veroia, and Nikephoros Moschopoulos, then metropolitan of Crete. The former owned an illustrated Comnenian lectionary now in Venice, and the latter two lectionaries, one new and the other old, respectively, Sinai gr. 206, written in 1303 probably in Constantinople and ornamented only with headpieces and initials, and Moscow, State Hist. Mus. Syn. gr. 225, an eleventh-century manuscript with evangelist portraits.<sup>62</sup>

Such manuscripts exemplify several aspects of the deluxe lectionary in the Palaeologan period: metropolitan provenance, absence of narrative decoration, and the appreciation and re-use of older lectionaries. The latter phenomenon may also be related to the adaptation of Middle Byzantine Gospel books for liturgical use during the period,<sup>63</sup> and both factors would have reduced the demand for new lectionaries. It is then all the more remarkable that the Palaeologina group seems unaffected by such developments, for while its individual lectionaries are typical of the period, they survive in unusual numbers.

But a luxury version of almost any text that a patron demanded could be produced in the style of this group, as can be seen in the final attribution that we wish to propose: London, Brit. Lib. Add. 22748.<sup>64</sup> This manuscript is the sole surviving copy of the typikon of the convent of Lips in Constantinople and was published by Delehayé in 1921.<sup>65</sup> The monastery was reestablished by Empress Theodora sometime between the death of her husband, Michael VIII Palaiologos, in 1282 and her own death in 1303. To the south of the original tenth-century church of the Virgin, she added a church dedicated to St. John the Baptist, intending the whole to be a place of burial for her family.<sup>66</sup> Mango and Hawkins have suggested that the typi-

kon may have been written a few years before Theodora's death, or ca. 1300.<sup>67</sup> Perhaps because the text was printed long ago, the manuscript itself has been overlooked. Delehayé was content to date its script to the fourteenth century,<sup>68</sup> but its ornament, script, and codicology permit a more precise attribution.

The affiliation with the Palaeologina group is immediately apparent from the initials that begin each chapter. On fol. 40v (Fig. 9), the large epsilon, constructed of sturdy bands and thick knots and resting on a spreading foot, is a close relative of the first letter in the Sinai lectionary, gr. 228 (Fig. 10). Both share the curious breathing sign above that ends in a thin, hooked line, a mannerism seen as well in the ornament of the Palaeologina's Gospel book.<sup>69</sup> The exuberant alpha of fol. 50v (Fig. 11) is constructed in the same manner as a slightly more attenuated letter in Paris, gr. 21 (Fig. 12), and a different type of epsilon on fol. 78 (Fig. 13) finds parallels in the same manuscript as well.<sup>70</sup> Finally, a beta later in the manuscript (fol. 90) has the same distinctive shape as the initial of Matthew's Gospel in Vat. gr. 1158.<sup>71</sup>

If the typikon ever had more elaborate illumination, such as large headpieces or figural miniatures, one would have expected to find them at the beginning of the text, now unfortunately lost. Furthermore, what was once a headband, probably similar to many from the group, has been cut out of fol. 86, so that all that remains in the volume are a few simple strips of ornament (e.g., Fig. 11) and a line of pseudo-kufic script (Fig. 13). Yet each detail finds close analogies in the products of the "Atelier." The string of circles, diamonds, and rectangles ending in heart-shaped finials (Fig. 11) appears in Athens 2546,<sup>72</sup> and the pseudo-kufic (Fig. 13) is a favored device of the group in manuscripts such as Vat. gr. 1208, Paris, gr. 21, Athens 2546,<sup>73</sup> and Vat. gr. 352 (Fig. 14). In each case, however, the lower connecting strokes of the kufic vary slightly, so that no two patterns are alike, but all

<sup>62</sup> Nelson, "Malakes," 232–35, 248–51.

<sup>63</sup> Many Middle Byzantine Gospel books have liturgical tables added in the Palaeologan period, thus facilitating their use as lectionaries. The case of the Codex Ebnerianus is well documented. See Hutter, *CBM* 1, 60; 3.1, 333; R. S. Nelson, "Byzantine Miniatures at Oxford: *CBM* 1 and 2," *Byz St* 13 (1986), 97–99.

<sup>64</sup> *Catalogue of the Additions to the Manuscripts in the British Museum in the Years MDCCCLIV–MDCCCLX* (London, 1875), 727; Richard, *Inventaire*, 42.

<sup>65</sup> H. Delehayé, *Deux typica byzantins de l'époque des Paléologues*, *Académie Royale de Belgique, Mémoires*, 2nd ser., 13 (1921), 14–16, *passim*.

<sup>66</sup> T. Macridy, "The Monastery of Lips (Fenari Isa Camii) at Istanbul," *DOP* 18 (1964), 249–77; C. Mango and E. J. W. Hawkins, "Additional Notes," *ibid.*, 299–315; C. Mango and E. J. W. Hawkins, "Additional Finds at Fenari Isa Camii, Istanbul," *DOP* 22 (1968), 177–84; T. F. Mathews, *The Byzantine*

*Churches of Istanbul: A Photographic Survey* (University Park, Pa., 1976), 322–45. Now on Theodora and her life and her monastic patronage, there is the important study of Alice-Mary Talbot to appear in *DOP* 46. Working independently, she has arrived at similar conclusions regarding the Lips typikon. We thank Dr. Talbot for sharing her paper with us.

<sup>67</sup> Mango and Hawkins, "Additional Notes," 301.

<sup>68</sup> Delehayé, *Deux typica*, 14.

<sup>69</sup> E.g., Buchthal-Belting, pls. 17a, 19a.

<sup>70</sup> *Ibid.*, pls. 58c, 60c.

<sup>71</sup> *Ibid.*, pl. 16a.

<sup>72</sup> *NLG*, II, fig. 135.

<sup>73</sup> Buchthal-Belting, pls. 45b, 60c; *NLG*, II, fig. 132.

should be credited to the same center, if not the same person.

That the illuminator of the typikon was probably not also its scribe is suggested by the initial on fol. 86, in which the large convoluted letter encroaches upon and overlaps the text. Thus the initial was executed after the text by someone without the usual respect for it, presumably a separate illuminator. Moreover, the script of the typikon bears no relation whatever to any other manuscript from the "Atelier." It is written in a variant of the radically different writing system of the period, the *Fettaugen-Mode*, studied and named by H. Hunger.<sup>74</sup> Whereas religious texts of the early Palaeologan period are copied in the harmoniously penned archaizing minuscule, other types of texts are written with oversized circular letters, such as epsilons, omicrons, or sigmas, and with frequent ligatures that contribute to a generally untidy impression, as seen, for example, in the similar script of Vat. gr. 191 of ca. 1296.<sup>75</sup> The writing of the Lips typikon is something of a contradiction, for it is a formal version of what often appears to be an informal style. The letters are larger and more disciplined than those in many manuscripts of this style, and the titles are written in gold, a sure sign of higher status and greater cost.

While a modern eye accustomed to the elegant calligraphy of the Palaeologina group might judge the Lips typikon inferior, its contemporaries may have seen the matter differently, because the script closely resembles that of chrysobulls emanating from Andronikos II. The document of 1301 (Fig. 15) in the Byzantine Museum, Athens, opens with a miniature of the emperor and Christ and features many of the same letter forms in the text below.<sup>76</sup> In imperial chrysobulls of the early fourteenth century, enlarged letters are evenly spaced in a manner that corresponds better to the deluxe religious manuscripts of the period than to the more extreme versions of the *Fettaugen-Mode*,<sup>77</sup> and in these respects the chrysobulls recall the Lips ty-

pikon. For example, an imperial decree of 1314 at the Lavra monastery (Fig. 16) shares specific letters and ligatures, as well as a similar overall cadence, with fol. 78 of the typikon (Fig. 13).<sup>78</sup> Thus the writing of the Lips typikon deserves to be considered not as a degenerate version of the archaizing minuscule, but as an elegant variant of the imperial chancery scripts used for legal documents, or precisely what the typikon was intended to be. That Empress Theodora would have had ready access to the scribes in the emperor's service need not be doubted. Her relations with Andronikos II were good, and the typikon itself provides that tomb space in the church be set aside for her son, who was indeed later buried in the monastery.<sup>79</sup> By these associations, then, the London manuscript appears as a document of particular significance, and we believe that it may well be one of the original copies of the typikon, drawn up for Theodora and/or her monastery in ca. 1300.<sup>80</sup>

The Lips typikon ties its illuminator, the group of manuscripts to which it is related, and Buchthal and Belting's "Atelier of the Palaeologina" to the pinnacle of Constantinopolitan society, and it provides the first direct evidence for the provenance and chronology of the group. The authors' deduction that the "Atelier" was located in the capital was based only on the Palaeologina monogram and the high quality of the illumination, but their intuitions are now confirmed. However, the quantity of new attributions raises questions about chronology. On the one hand, the Lips typikon supports the dating of these manuscripts to "the last years of the thirteenth century,"<sup>81</sup> yet the proposal that the products of the "Atelier" were created in "a very short period of time"<sup>82</sup> is undermined by the steadily growing number of manuscripts associated with the group, by the Florence Gospels with its date of 1285, and possibly by the Moscow manuscript of 1272 that Fonkič has mentioned.<sup>83</sup> Consequently, the manuscripts now seem more likely to have been produced over several decades spanning the late thirteenth and probably the early fourteenth centuries.

<sup>74</sup>"Die sogenannte Fettaugen-Mode in griechischen Handschriften des 13. und 14. Jahrhunderts," *ByzF* 4 (1972), 105–13.

<sup>75</sup>A. Turyn, *Codices graeci Vaticani saeculis XIII et XIV scripti annorumque notis instructi* (Vatican City, 1964), pl. 58. Cf. specifically the joining of a delta to a following vowel, as in line 1 of fol. 78 (Fig. 13) of the typikon and the beta in line 1 with that in line 6 of fol. 40v (Fig. 9).

<sup>76</sup>Cf. the beta in line 2 of Fig. 15 with that in line 6 of Fig. 9; and the xi in line 4 of Fig. 15 with that in lines 6 and 9 of Fig. 9 or line 1 of Fig. 13. In the chrysobull, a small alpha with a long diagonal stroke is placed above the line, a feature seen in line 1 of Fig. 9.

<sup>77</sup>E.g., F. Dölger, *Aus den Schatzkammern des Heiligen Berges* (Munich, 1948), pls. 5, 6; P. Lemerle et al., *Archives de l'Athos*,

VII (Paris, 1975), pl. xxxi; VIII (Paris, 1977), pl. xcix; XII (Paris, 1982), pl. xxvi.

<sup>78</sup>Cf. the alpha, nu, and sigma and the ligatures joining delta and rho to following vowels. On the chrysobull, see Lemerle, *Archives*, VIII, 159–61.

<sup>79</sup>Delehaye, *Deux typica*, 130, 175.

<sup>80</sup>On the copies made of certain typika and their use, see Delehaye, *Deux typica*, 9–10, 170.

<sup>81</sup>Buchthal-Belting, 7.

<sup>82</sup>Ibid.

<sup>83</sup>See above, note 11.

Finally, the typikon offers the first hard evidence of patronage for the group. Heretofore, there was only the unknown Anna of the Florence manuscript and the Palaeologina monograms of Vat. gr. 1158. Since Empress Theodora was strongly committed to the Palaeologan family and its perpetuation, as witnessed by the contents of the typikon and the Lips complex itself, she might well be considered a better candidate for patroness of the Vatican Gospels than Theodora Raoulaina, the previous choice. What the latter had to recommend her was a love of books, the patronage of a monastery, and a death date in 1300.<sup>84</sup> More important may be the fact that the first known owner of Vat. gr. 1158 and gr. 1208 in the late fifteenth century was the Cypriot queen Carlotta, who was a direct descendant of Michael VIII and Theodora, not Theodora Raoulaina.<sup>85</sup> In Vat. gr. 1158, the monograms on two canon tables and the family emblem of diagonal bars on two others conform to known imperial practices.<sup>86</sup> A recently published liturgical roll from the fourteenth century frames the text with a decorated border containing both the bars and the monogram, although here in the masculine form.<sup>87</sup> Fragments from the front or lid of a sarcophagus found at Theodora's church have monograms also. Although none of the sculpted monograms or emblems exactly match those of the Vatican Gospels, what does appear here is a curious device of interlocking diagonal lines, which is found with both the monograms and the bars in other contexts.<sup>88</sup>

It has to be admitted that there is nothing more than circumstantial evidence to link Empress Theodora with any manuscript of the group apart

from the typikon and possibly Vat. gr. 1158. We want to refrain from simply substituting this Theodora for Theodora Raoulaina as the possible patroness of an atelier, for, taken together, the new additions suggest to us a different model of patronage. Working from their reasonably cohesive group of fifteen manuscripts, Buchthal and Belting had hypothesized that they were the work

... of a hand-picked team of renowned craftsmen brought together from various ateliers to perform a special and strictly limited task, namely, to produce a certain number of manuscripts written and decorated according to a set program and for a particular purpose. ... their style presents a uniquely homogeneous picture. It must reflect the taste of a single patron, and the whole group must have been executed according to his (or her) detailed instructions.<sup>89</sup>

With the additional manuscripts, the task of the "Atelier" seems increasingly less limited, and its relation to other scribes and patrons increasingly more complex. The recent studies by one of us of the career of Theodore Hagiopetrites and the patronage of early Palaeologan deluxe manuscripts has suggested that craftsmen, not patrons, are largely responsible for the manuscripts that result,<sup>90</sup> and G. Vikan has described a similar state of affairs for post-Byzantine production.<sup>91</sup> It is now hard to imagine what use any single patron and his or her followers would have had for the group's eight lectionaries and seven Gospel books. Rather, the examples of the three signatories of the Synod of Blachernai encourage us to suggest that the manuscripts of the "Atelier" were produced for a varied and largely ecclesiastical clientele, most of whom probably lived in Constantinople, but some may have resided in outlying regions, for which Constantinople or Thessaloniki would have been the principal sources of supply. Here it is worth noting that, besides the Lips typikon, the only securely dated indication of provenance we have from the Byzantine period is a non-scribal note in Vat. gr. 352. The entry records the donation of property to the church of the Theotokos of Brontochion in Mistra and localizes the lectionary to this prominent Late Byzantine church in 1375.<sup>92</sup> There the book might have shared shelf space with

<sup>84</sup> Buchthal-Belting, 100. Theodora Raoulaina was the daughter of Eirene Palaeologina, a sister of Michael VIII. See A. Th. Papadopoulos, *Versuch einer Genealogie der Palaiologen 1259–1453* (repr. Amsterdam, 1962), 18, 20–21.

<sup>85</sup> Papadopoulos, *Versuch*, 61.

<sup>86</sup> The Palaeologan monogram appears in a variety of other contexts, for which see C. Asdracha and Ch. Bakirtzis, "Inscriptions byzantines de Thrace (VIIIe–XVe siècles): Édition et commentaire historique," *Arch. Del.* 35 (1980 [1986]), 247–49.

<sup>87</sup> A. Mellas, *Ἡ Χάλκη τῶν Περιγηπονήσων* (Athens, 1984), color illus. on p. 32. The design of the roll follows Comnenian precedents. Cf. Athens, Nat. Lib. cod. 2759 (*Byzantine Art, An European Art* [Athens, 1964], 341–42, no. 358); and chrysobulls of John II and Manuel I Komnenos (S. Lambros, *Αὐτοκρατορῶν τοῦ Βυζαντίου χρυσόβουλλα καὶ χρυσὰ γράμματα ἀναφερόμενα εἰς τὴν ἐνωσιν τῶν ἐκκλησιῶν, Νέος Ἑλλ.* 11 [1914], pls. 1–4).

<sup>88</sup> Mango and Hawkins, "Additional Finds," 181. See also the comments of G. Vikan in his review of the Buchthal-Belting monograph in *ArtB* 63 (1981), 326. Alice-Mary Talbot informs us that the tomb cannot have been Theodora's, as formerly supposed, because her monastic name, Eugenia, differs from what is found here. See her article to appear in *DOP* 46 for further remarks on the tombs of the Lips monastery.

<sup>89</sup> Buchthal-Belting, 98–99. For preceding us in this argument, we are indebted to the earlier review of G. Vikan, *ArtB*, 325–27.

<sup>90</sup> Nelson, "Malakes," 254; Nelson, *Hagiopetrites*, passim.

<sup>91</sup> Vikan, *ArtB*, 327.

<sup>92</sup> Maxwell, "Another Lectionary," 52–53. In Oxford, Laud. gr. 90, a note by a 14th-century hand associates the manuscript with the monastery of the Trinity on the island of Chalki near Constantinople: Hutter, *CBM*, vol. 1, 99.

the Comnenian lectionary that had been donated to the same monastery in 1311/12 by Nikephoros Moschopoulos, himself an example of an ecclesiastical bibliophile, who moved between the capital and the provinces.<sup>93</sup>

Finally, if the authors' firmly drawn model of patronage now appears a bit blurred at the edges, a similar fate probably awaits the notion of the "Atelier" itself, the last concept to be problematized and one for which we have no ready alternative. What exactly is this entity? If it is not a group of fine artisans brought together to make a limited number of deluxe manuscripts over a few years, but rather a copying/illuminating center that worked for several decades, then how was it constituted? Who belonged to it, how did its scribes, illuminators, and miniaturists interact, and what were their relations with associated artisans of Constantinople? The *typikon* suggests connections with the imperial chancellery, but there is no indication of any imperial scriptorium then producing deluxe manuscripts,<sup>94</sup> and the books we have been considering are resolutely ecclesiastical in orientation. Indeed our study has shown how problematic are our very notions of "patron," "atelier," "group," or "center."

Rather than positing a single person, workshop, or pattern of production that might explain all circumstances of each manuscript, we envisage a more complex, unstable, and unpredictable model, one that would allow for constantly varying collaboration among artisans—variously defined (scribe, illuminator, miniaturist, and any combination thereof)—and their equally diverse clients. Like every manuscript, each artisan/patron relationship was unique. Inevitably the terms "patron," "atelier," "group," or "workshop" blur distinctions in favor of ideal paradigms and thereby create problems for a subject in which so much primary research awaits to be done. Thus whereas the concept of a group has obvious heuristic value, its utility is limited by the dearth of similar groupings in the period and by the nature of the concept itself. Our provisional conclusions, we emphasize, represent working hypotheses, based upon the new attributions and are intended to stimulate and assist those who are surely to discover yet more manuscripts. Despite our suggested modifications of some of Buchthal and Belting's views, we remain indebted to their careful and discerning analysis of what increasingly appears to be the principal body of illuminated manuscripts from early Palaeologan Constantinople.

<sup>93</sup> Nelson, "Malakes," 250–51.

<sup>94</sup> H. Belting, *Das illuminierte Buch in der spätbyzantinischen Gesellschaft* (Heidelberg, 1970), 51–60.

R.S.N. University of Chicago  
J.L. Courtauld Institute of Art,  
University of London